222
252
[262] In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment, we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the
231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi
[263] honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey
[273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

249 The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p. 59), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

[824] Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

276 has approximately the shape of a [Fig. 12 appears here in the original text] clothespin and is suspended from the neck on a string (Fig. 13). In order to take the snuff, the [Fig. 13 appears here in the original text] Murundi first pours some tobacco from the horn into the wooden bowl. He adds a little water and stirs the mixture until the water has turned into a brownish-green tobacco juice. Then he pours this sauce into the hollow of his hand and draws it in through his nostrils with an ecstatic grunt. All this is usually done in a sitting or squatting position (see Plate 28b). Since the juice would, of course, run out of his nose immediately, the already described nose clamp is pushed over the nostrils or the nose is blocked by gripping it between the index finger and the thumb. The pinch of snuff is considered good if it is sharp enough to bring tears to the snuff-taker's eyes. He will leave the stinging brew in his nose for three to five minutes or longer. Finally, when he has had enough of this pleasure, he bends forward, takes the clamp or his fingers from his nose and lets the slimy sauce drip to the ground. Any remainder is blown out of the nose with the fingers, and the fingers are wiped off on the bare legs. The entire procedure, which may be observed several dozen times each day, is so disgusting that it easily might cause one to be disenchanted with a sojourn among the Barundi if one did not remind himself that this is a subject for ethnological study which, as such, is beyond good and evil.

276 576 If one of the snuff-takers is suddenly overcome with the desire to sneeze, he quickly blows out all the juice, aiding the passage of it with his fingers; otherwise dire consequences would ensue. After he has sneezed, the bystanders wish him "kira" (bless you), whereupon he answers, "tukirane" (may things go well with us). Offering a pinch of snuff and accepting one which has been offered [60] are evidence of good breeding. Only the Batwa are never offered a pinch by the other Barundi, nor do they offer snuff to them (No. 19, p. 465).

● 273 Male and female Barundi of all tribal, status, and age groups are even more passionately addicted to alcohol in the form of beer (insoga). "If in general the Barundi are a sober

[Text continues on page 90]

273 people, it is not out of virtue but simply because they do not have enough to eat and drink to satisfy their appetites. They could eat an ox at one sitting, and if they were given as much beer as they wanted, they would keep drinking from morning till night" (No. 19, p. 317). Drunkenness is not regarded as a shortcoming or a vice but as evidence of the prosperity or generosity of the host. After the millet and banana harvest, from July to September, is the time for brewing beer (kwenga insoga, kutoba), the period of gluttony and general drunkeness all over Urundi, and this continues until the provisions are exhausted. Often the last drop disppears down the gullet after not more than four weeks, and the thirsty souls have to remain
273 abstinent until the next harvest period. During the period of
574 carousal, singing and shouting can be heard issuing from most homesteads deep into the night, for there are no quiet and solitary drinkers. Drinking beer is always a social affair. One person after another invites friends and relatives to communal drinking bouts, and in this manner they make the rounds among all the families of friends, guzzling until nothing is left. In
[431] addition to this, pots filled with beer are given as presents or any suitable occasion, and then they are shared by receiver and donor together. Of course, beer is part of any kind of festive occasion which usually also includes dancing (see pp. 65 , 125).
273 Since the banana beer, which is the most popular, is quite
579 potent and since, in addition, the Barundi are by nature easily
152 excited, the more advanced stages of such communal drinking bouts usually take a rather wild form. Quite regularly violent arguments ensue, and often fights result in which even lances are used, sometimes ending in manslaughter. In the latter case, the consequences for the families concerned are quite disastrous (see pp. 97 , 165).

273 Significantly enough, beer-brewing among the Barundi
[462] is a task with which the women are charged. They are experts in this respect, but they also are hard drinkers. There are four different types of beer in Urundi. The most potent, popular, and widespread type is banana beer (insoga j'ivitoke). To

273 prepare it, green, unripe bananas are first ripened artificially in a kind of incubator. This is simply a pit which has been dug in firm ground. The bottom of it is covered with green banana leaves, the bundles of bananas are piled on top, and these are again covered with green banana leaves. Over all, dry banana leaves are heaped up and set on fire. As soon as they have started to burn, the whole thing is covered with twigs and earth. After four to five days the bananas are fully ripe. They are then taken out of the pit, peeled, and placed in a wooden trough. There they are mashed with the aid of clean bunches of grass which are held in the hand. Then water is poured on, and all the solid parts are fished out. The remaining juice is scooped into a large earthen pot with a pumpkin shell. A little sorghum flour is added to aid fermentation. After the liquid has been left to ferment for four to five days, the beer is poured into small jugs and is ready for drinking.

[61] Brewing millet beer (insoga j'impeke) is less complicated. However, this type of beer is less tasty and also less popular. Naturally it is predominantly produced in areas where more sorghum than bananas are grown, as, for instance, in eastern Urundi and in Uha. The brewing process is as follows. Red or white sorghum is left in cold water to swell and to germinate. After a few days the millet is poured into a basket, and after being left there to germinate a little more, it is dried in the sun and ground into flour. This flour is then poured into boiling water, and the mash is constantly stirred with a small piece of wood while cold water is gradually added. When the big pot is finally entirely filled with cold water, a little sour banana beer is added, and the mash is allowed to settle on the bottom of the vessel. The finished beer above it is then poured off into small pots. The beer always retains a somewhat floury color and teems with floating millet grains and seeds.

Without doubt, the European palate prefers the third kind of beer which might be called banana cider (umutobe). It is simply water mixed with the juice squeezed from ripe bananas which has fermented slightly. This beverage sparkles like champagne, has a bitter-sweet taste, is very refreshing, and is

273 easily digested. Barundi men scorn it because of its harmlessness, and it is left for the sick, the women, and the children, among whom it is very popular (No. 19, p. 74).

The fourth type of beer is honey beer (umutobe w'insuki). It resembles lemonade but is nevertheless somewhat alcoholic, so even men like to drink it. It consists of one fifth honey and four fifths water. This is boiled for a short time, and then it is poured into a different vessel and left standing near the fire for a few days without being allowed to boil. Finally it is placed under the open sun for an entire day so as to cause slight fermentation. This is also a tasty and wholesome beverage.

Honey beer and banana cider cannot be preserved for a long time; the latter will keep only for four to five days. For this reason both must be consumed quickly. The first two types mentioned, banana and sorghum beer, do not improve by aging either. They turn sour, the sooner the warmer the place is where they are kept. In mountain areas with a cold climate they will keep for five to six weeks, but in the much more extensive plateau lands they turn sour much sooner. For this reason alone the high time of general drinking is squeezed into the period of a few weeks which are enjoyed all the more strenuously. [Fig. 14 appears here in the original text.]

[62] The Barundi seldom drink beer directly from the pots or from open pumpkin bowls, as is the case among most other East African Negroes. Usually the beer is poured from the [264] pots into calabashes and then sucked out of these by means of straws or reeds (umukenke) in the same manner as we drink iced coffee. The Banjaruanda and Basiba use the same method. Also [484] on trips and marches they carry calabashes of beer with them, [415] together with the necessary tubes which are kept in plaited or carved cases (Fig. 14).

The real beer brewers in Urundi are the Bahutu women, as has already been mentioned, but as far as drinking is concerned, the Bahutu and the Batussi are of equal rank. Most of them are tremendous tipplers who consume 12 to 15 liters of beer a day. The Batwa, too, are hard drinkers if they have beer.

[Text continues on page 93]

273 [438] They usually obtain it[1] from the Bahutu by trading earthenware which they have made, although their women are quite adept at brewing beer. They also buy the bananas for it from the Bahutu since they themselves do not own any banana groves.

[563] The Batussi and the Bahutu often drink together but never in company with the Batwa. The latter may not even drink by themselves if a Muhutu or even a Mutussi is in the vicinity.

439 It hardly needs to be mentioned that in a country which is still not opened up to trade and commerce no imported alcohol or European spirits can be found.

276 Also, the smoking of hashish is unknown among the Barundi, although it is very popular among the neighboring Wanjamwesi and although hemp (urumogi) grows in certain districts of Urundi, even far into the interior (No. 19, p. 260). They are acquainted neither with the chewing of betel, which unfortunately has been introduced to large areas of East Africa by the Arabs and Indians, nor with any other stimulants except those mentioned above.

[63] Chapter 5

Games, Dances, Music

517 Like almost all other East African tribes, the children and adults of the Barundi are always ready for games (uwukini), dancing, and amusements. This is true above all of the Batussi who otherwise have nothing or little to do, but also it is true of the large majority of the Bahutu. Even the members of the depressed pariah class of the Batwa are ardent dancers.

857 524 Among the Batussi and the Bahutu many children participate in the games and dances of the adults. Here, as among most Negro tribes, children eight or nine years old are almost as mature as adults. Negro children, after they pass babyhood, never play with the same naïve absorption and gracefulness as our [European] children. There is a whole series of games especially for children and others especially for adults. "Playing

1 [i.e., the Batwa obtain beer. — Analyst]

396 Often the boat has to be transported a long distance to
496 its launching site. This may take several days. An umufumu (sorcerer) walks in front, scattering "salutary" powder on the road so as to make sure that the boat will reach the water undamaged. As soon as the boat is launched, the people participating in the celebration sing and dance on both sides of the river. Then a pot of banana beer is covered with river clay and
[782] placed inside the boat; the immediate participants drink from the pot and spit into the river to appease the evil spirits. The clay on the pot is rubbed by the participants on their foreheads and on those of the members of their family as protection against accidents. Then the boat is rowed across the river to the other shore, and the people there go through the same ceremonies. The consecration of the boat is concluded by a dance
● [273] of the abafumu (medicine men) and ends in a general drinking bout. (No. 19, p. 66)

If after the launching of the boat it is discovered that it
396 lacks buoyancy or equilibrium, corrections are made by further carving with knife or ax or by putting stones inside for ballast. It has already been mentioned (p.73) that the dugouts have neither seats nor rudder. The way they are propelled has also been described.

[83] I have also already discussed the very simple technique (p.31) of making barkcloth (fig. bast felt).

The technique for hides and leatherwork is also very
281 simple. The Barundi on rare occasions use a piece of hide as their only garment. Otherwise they mainly use hides as blankets. The Batwa, however, prefer garments of hide to those made of barkcloth; consequently they are the most expert workers in leather (abaharra). However, both the Batwa and the Bahutu use the same technique. If it is merely a matter of firm, hard leather for lids, quivers, binding material for fastening arrowheads, etc., the hide is simply scraped clean and dried in the sun. If, however, soft, flexible leather (urusato) is needed for garments and blankets, it must be tanned. Since in Urundi the method of tanning and tawing is little known, as was originally the case in all other parts of Africa (No. 32a, p. 47), the hide

796 bellies" (i.e., like sick cattle). And so it continues with in-
794 numerable wild curses. When the storm has subsided, individ-
575 ual supplicants once more stumble forward in front of the
786 enthroned woman, pay profuse respects to the "king," and re-
quest his help in opposing witches and sorcerers who have harmed them. The woman promises this, and with the voice of a fury she calls for a pledge of faith to Kiranga. [129] The ivisjego jump up, and under their leadership and accompanied by the noise of all the instruments and with a thousand curses and screams, a dance is performed, such that in the end everyone is bathed in sweat.

A wild drinking bout by the men and women follows, while they repeatedly scream to Kiranga sitting on the footstool: "Remain on the ruler's throne forever, King of Urundi; Kiranga is king." After that the frantic dancing in rows and the noise continue until the woman representing Kiranga becomes thirsty and surrenders her place to a male successor who is then the host. Naturally, he also is enthroned with tremendous jubilation. In this fashion the drinking and dancing, the invocations of Kiranga, and the curses against enemies continue through the entire night until early morning. Then suddenly the whole group breaks up, and in single file, rattling their bells, they run to the nearest stream where they all wash themselves. With this, the celebration comes to an end, and everyone goes home. From this moment on, none of the participants of the celebration may show any sign of recognizing his companions. The whole Kubandwa must be kept secret. However, the host who last "played" Kiranga belongs from now on among those most privileged and divinely blessed.

796 Since much beer is drunk at these cult festivals and at all
794 other celebrations and it is only available after harvest time,
575 from July to the end of October, all festivals occur exclusively
273 in these months. Every night, especially when there is moon-
light, one can hear the noise of drinkers and dancers from the banana groves. Usually they are mere drinking bouts which resound into the night and have no further importance, but often they are cult gatherings of the abandandwa in which only members of the fraternity may participate.

231 one might be inclined to believe. The cows yield
[234] little milk, and part of this milk is used for making butter, which is employed not for food, but for a cosmetic. Cattle-slaying is (or rather was) not frequent and only young steers, sterile cows, or old beasts are butchered. The cattle are lean, the pastures usually second-rate. And whatever the cattle-breeders themselves may say, they are mainly vegetarians: but the less immediately productive the cattle-breeders' occupation appears, the greater and the nobler the rank it confers to them. It is mainly
[556] an outward sign of wealth, with a superior social standing attached to it that enables the higher classes to procure women and claim the devoted and faithful services of the males. It is worth remarking that the
[462] cattle are cared for by the men, not—save in exceptional cases—by the women.

241 Barundi economy is based on agriculture, which is mainly in the hands of the Bahutu, to whom we must add some impoverished Batutsi and most of the Batwa. Sorghum, beans and peas are the chief
● [273] products, but cassava culture is spreading to-day. Bananas are used for brewing beer. (The agricultural techniques are very primitive, though sometimes more advanced in some respects than might be expected: hardly any other implement than the hoe is commonly employed, and yet manuring and irrigation are
[462] known.) Agriculture uses male as well as female labour, but the latter is more common. Among the Batwa only women till the land, and among the Bahutu there are men who take no part in agriculture.

000 This general information will enable us now to understand the chief subject of this address: the intercourse between the elements of the Barundi population where vicinity plays so small a part.

The position towards the political chiefs

643 The country's unity is chiefly based on the sultan's
796 personal power; his prestige is clearly visible in the general mourning and the curious burial rites consequent on his death. Also characteristic was the annual recurrence of an important religious festival usually held in our month of December and called *umuganuro*, the sorghum festival, the sorghum desacralization: only after the festival could the people start sowing sorghum in their fields. The *umuganuro*, however, concerned other agricultural
[778] products, as well as cattle and game. It included the exhibition of a sacred drum (*karyenda*) and a hierogamy—which the king achieved with the greatest secrecy. It involved, as well for the festivities themselves as for the preparation of the requisites the hereditary collaboration of men and women picked from every social level and every region, however distant. And so the festival created stronger ties

Their Food is Varied

262 [241] It consists of beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. They cultivate a lot of sorghum, eleusine, and maize. In some areas one finds Caribbean cabbage or edible arum (amatcke), yam (ébikoro), squash and pumpkins, of which the people are fond. Among the mountain [263] people, honey is also consumed in large quantities. Elsewhere, the Muhutu /sing. of Bahutu/ brings honey to the Mututsi /sing. of Batutsi/, [272] who demands it as a due and uses it to make hydromel (inkangaza and intoramo), the favorite beverage of the nobles.

The banana, which the Munyarwanda /sing. of Banyarwanda/ [273] frequently mixes with his other foods, supplies him primarily with a beer that is in great demand (inzoga y'urwagwa).

263 The Banyarwanda, in order to lend taste and flavor to their everyday food and to their favorite dishes, add to them bitter plants or sour, tart fruits, which they cook along with them (1). Housewives

[824]

1. Among all these plants, issogi is the one most commonly used. The shrubs that bear the berries most valued for their bitter taste are intagashya and igitagarasoryo.

also use water containing a little potash /33/, which takes the place of the missing salt. The Blacks draw this mediocre seasoning from 258 263 the ashes of plants that grow in the marshes (1). These grasses are

[824]

1. The natives call these grasses by the name of umuberanyi, umurago, and igikangaga. The ashes of the last-mentioned plant are most commonly used.

burned after being dried in the sun. The ashes are then collected in a large potsherd upon which the humble African salt makers pour pure

774
776 The figures honored by the members of this secret society rank as demigods. Their protection is believed to be effective in the various circumstances of public and family life. As a result, their disciples appeal to them for the obtaining of any material benefit, recovery from illness, ownership of cattle, good relations with chiefs or neighbors, triumph over enemies, protection against bewitchers or spell casters, fecundity, etc.

[576] In order to reach these goals, the initiates respectfully come to the man who plays the role of Ryangombe, greet him, kneel at his feet, address his companions, and offer them gifts.

There is a traditional way to honor these spirits of varying rank and position. No rite is overlooked. Ceremonial dress, gestures, words, offerings, everything is foreseen and prescribed by immutable laws.

Each of the "patrons" has a peculiar costume and special insignias which the man who plays his role must perforce take into account. They are offered gifts of various kinds, and chants or "paeans" are sung, recalling to the spectators the brilliant deeds of their protectors.

1. Ryangombe is represented as seated on a native chair, with a cutlass suspended from his neck. One sets down at his side a [273] vessel full of lustral water and a large jar of pombe, beer made of sorghum or banana juice.

The ladies who wish to honor him hold in their hands a household spatula (umwuko). His adepts imitate the call of the hyena to [198] praise him (2). /364/

2. Is this a vestige of the ancient tribal totems? We cannot be sure.

2. Binego, son of Ryangombe, is called the "Liberator" because he saved his father from ruin and dishonor.

The man who plays his role holds a spear and stick and has a pipe (urwika in the language of the initiates) and a small gourd full of banana beer.

644 violent death when they least expected it. This was for a long time
[682] a sword of Damocles which almost invariably fell upon the head of those who had the misfortune of being selected for that unenvied position.

We shall cite, later on, a few examples of this.

644 B. The cupbearers (abanyanzoga), like their colleagues in
●273 the royal dairy and kitchen, also practiced a dangerous trade. Their
651 duties involved the obtention of the best beer available, which they had to preserve and to offer at the moment it was desired. They were numerous, and some of them lived near the king while others roamed the land to requisition honey, beer itself, or the bunches of bananas which are used in the manufacture of this precious beverage (1).

1. The head of the cupbearers, a certain Mutagikwa, is regarded thereby as captain of the Indengabaganizi army corps. This is a strictly honorific title, which nevertheless enables him to levy taxes in those territories where he exercises his functions as an officer of the "Cup."
He lives at Nyarugenge in Gassagara, the Buhanga.

Originally, employees in this category theoretically had rights
[661] only to bunches of bananas and honey (imitsama), and they roamed the land to obtain them (gutorana). Gradually they took on the habit of behaving like true chiefs and of demanding from the inhabitants contributions in kind, beans, sorghum, cows, etc., as well as forced labor, called buletwa. This permitted them not only to live well, but also to acquire large herds.

644 C. There are several work groups assigned to the cultivation
276 and preparation of the tobacco which is used by the prince. The plants destined for his use come from the Bugoyi /386/ Mata in the Marangara, and Ruyanza and Mussambiro in the Nduga, among other

784 [842] A young girl may not follow the path trodden by cows while her betrothal arrangements are being made. She must take another path in order not to risk becoming sterile.

When a hut is finished and covered with thatch, the wife of the hut's owner must bring into it with her own hands the household spatula, which, according to the customs of the land, is her own symbolic weapon and safeguard. The observation of this rite insures her of not being expelled from the hut and of living on good terms with her husband.

To forget one's stick at a neighbor's house is a worrisome thing. It is to be feared that the stick will be used for magic procedures against the owner of the forgotten object.

787 If your heart beats as if it were about to break in the chest, it is a sign that someone is speaking ill of you somewhere.

If your chest feels heavy, if you feel ill in the stomach, it is a sign that your sister-in-law is pregnant and will become a mother.

An itching felt at the spot where a drop of blood was taken to seal a friendship pact is a certain portent of the blood-brother's death.

789 691 In order to help a litigant's suit along, his relatives wrap a mwishwa stalk around his chair. /415/ During the proceedings of the case, a member of the family sits on the chair and sweeps all around it, as if to ward off an evil spell. For even greater certainty of success, one also places under the chair the whetting stone (ityazo), which is called "obstacle" (ikinanira) in sorcerers' terms. This symbolic act has the function of stripping away all the effectiveness of the other side's testimony and evidence. "Their words will go with the wind" (amagambo yabo azahita nk' umuyaga), as popular belief has it.

● [273] The plaintiff, on his part, must abstain from drinking beer made with bananas of the kind called iginyambiba or igihuna. Thanks to such precautions, he will have every chance of success.

784 824 There also exist taboo plants and shrubs. Mwange (umwange) is a plant with a symbolic and meaningful name derived from a verb (kwanga), which means "to hate, to detest, not to like." Girls must never touch it when gathering dry twigs or dead wood for the hearth, for fear of... remaining spinsters. Old women alone have ceased to fear it and do not hesitate to use it for their cooking needs (1).

241 The beans are poured onto the back of an overturned winnowing
788 basket. Then the owner removes one of the long grass stalks covering the entrance to the hut, and he places this dried stem on the winnowing basket whose concave side is facing down. He takes the basket, lifts it, and shakes it strongly with both hands in order to get the beans into the other side of the grain-scouring implement.

This superstitious practice bears the name of bean "creation" or "multiplication." If a stranger /434/ happens by in the course of this ritual, he must not walk around the basket but pass to one side of it.

Then the beans are buried in the tilled ground in the hope of a rich harvest. This procedure is commonly used to insure good weather.

In their credulity and trust in superstitious practices, the Banyarwanda hope to exercise an influence over sunshine.

At the time of the sorghum harvest, when the Banyarwanda
[273] are extremely eager to secure beer from this plant (amarwa) of which they have been deprived for so long, they expose the crushing stone (ingasire) to sunlight, believing that they are "retaining" the sun in this fashion. We may add that their knowledge of astronomy is nil.
821 They have only one generic term, inyenyeri, to designate the stars, and another, nyakotsi, for comets (1).

1. Nyakotsi means "the /female/ one with smoke," that is to say, with a tail.

The sun (izuba), the moon (ukwezi), and the planet Venus (nyamuhiribona) are the only heavenly bodies for which they have specific names.

● 273 Preparation of Beer. The production of beer plays an important part in the economic life of Ruanda. In fact, most of the bananas are planted solely for this purpose. Everybody drinks. [556] Indeed, everyone who cares about his reputation must get drunk occasionally in order to parade his wealth. However, only the very wealthy can afford beer drinking on a large scale, which is the reason that the consumption of beer carries with it the notion of a privileged social position.

I had no opportunity to hear about cases of delirium tremens, but the chiefs always go to bed drunk and are never up and about before 10 o'clock in the morning.

The Banyaruanda call beer poetically a blessing of God (Imana). Without beer a person can neither be born nor buried. Without beer a man does not get a wife, and without beer he cannot be consecrated to the spirits.

Drinking bouts sometimes last a long time and are not confined to the evening hours. Repeatedly during morning trips I passed noisy settlements where the perservering were still at the glorious task.

273 The consequences of over-indulgence in beer are of very 614 great social significance in Mulera. They cause murder which in turn results in blood revenge. One constantly hears of murder, and the people are very proud of it. Even those whom a man kills while drunk are counted among his slain enemies and are symbolized by cone-shaped iron pendants worn on the back of his headband (see Fig. 62).

At the time of my visit, a Batwa colony of potters in Kabgaye broke up because two drunken men killed a third man and thereupon had to flee with all their relatives to escape vengeance.

273 Not only the men, but also the women of the well-to-do, especially the Batutsi, are said to devote themselves not infrequently to drink. Since their physical beauty is combined with a rather brutal disposition, one often hears of servants of a chief's wife who were soundly thrashed by their intoxicated mistress.

In Ruanda there are several entirely different kinds of beer. Banana beer is commonly called nzoga; millet beer, marwa.

●273 The various kinds have the following names.

1. Nzoga, ordinary banana beer.
2. Marwa ya massaka, millet beer.
3. Marwa ya buro, eleusine beer.
4. Rwagwa, banana beer fermented with millet malt. [150]
5. Nkangaza, banana beer fermented with honey.
6. Uruki, boiled, fermented honey water.

Nzoga is prepared with green bananas which are left to ripen in the hut, above the hearth or in special pits. If they are placed in a pit, a fire is kindled beside it and the heat conducted into the pit by the skillful manipulation of a lid. After four or five days the bananas are quite yellow. They are then peeled and thrown into a wooden trough. Here they are mashed to a thin paste (see detailed description of this process in the explanation of Plate 15, Vol. III, p. 11). This is how the sweet type of nzoga, called ndamu is prepared. Millet malt or honey is added to obtain a more pungent brew. In Buganza and Bgisha the bananas are said to be mashed in cold, unboiled water.

In order to get the nzoga to ferment, it is covered with straw and placed in a pit warmed by a fire, or it is kept inside the hut near the hearth, or it may be wrapped in banana leaves and kept in a corner.

To prepare millet beer, the grain is mixed with ashes, wrapped in grass, put in a basket which is dipped in water for a certain length of time, and then set aside until the grain germinates. After the grain has sprouted sufficiently to become malt, it is dried in the sun. The dried malt is ground into flour and is then ready for use. The flour is dissolved in boiling water, and, after cooling, it can quickly be brought to a state of fermentation by the addition of banana beer. If no banana beer is available, the thin flour porridge is heated and cooled several times. To prepare the ferment, a quantity of flour is dissolved in cooled water and set aside. After five or six days the ferment is ready and is added to the beer, and in two or three days the marwa is ready to be drunk. Unfermented marwa is called nsururu.

273 Aged banana beer is more potent than millet beer.

In Ruanda and Bgisha beer is drunk through a tube (muheha). These tubes are kept in cases resembling quivers, but they are considerably smaller.

276 Preparation of Tobacco. In connection with beer we must mention the other luxury, tobacco, even though the latter undergoes no treatment except drying. Dried tobacco is an important product of Bugoye where highly prized kinds of tobacco flourish and where it is very carefully tended.

[151] Tobacco is smoked in clay pipes (inkono yi tabi), but it is said that in Nduga old women also partake of it in a liquid state. An infusion is prepared, and this is snuffed up the nose. To prevent its running out, they clamp a split twig on the nose and in this way plug it.

This method of enjoying tobacco is also said to be familiar to the people southwest of Lake Victoria, where it is called kirangi. Since they are obliged to hold their noses very high in order to keep the liquid from running out, Europeans who carry themselves very erect are given the nickname Kirangi.

Hashish is unknown in Ruanda, as well as in the rest of the interlacustrine area with the exception of Buganda. The hashish smokers of Bukoba were chiefly members of the local Baganda colony.

285 Plaiting. In Ruanda the technique of plaiting by no means attains the level of the work in Kiziba, although it does not differ from the latter in principle. The Ruanda products, however, are less skillfully executed.

Since this subject has been discussed in detail (1) I shall

1. Kandt, R., "Gewerbe in Ruanda," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1904, pp. 349-359.

speak only briefly of the types of weaving.

In mat weaving which poses the simplest problems (pattern and weave are executed on a flat surface), the results are superb,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated over the country. There was no rule against naming the king after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

tilapia. Fishermen sell it mainly to foreigners: Congolese, Europeans, etc., but they themselves eat it very rarely.

Agriculture was the principal Hutu occupation. The Tutsi considered this kind of manual work below their dignity and the Twa preferred other tasks. Cultivators used the hoe (*isuka*) and a kind of bill-hook (*umuhoro*) as their main agricultural implements.[19] The main cultivated plants were beans and peas, sorghum, eleusine, sweet potatoes, cassava, maize. Besides these basic foodstuffs, there was also a garden cultivation of other plants used to complement the main dishes or to make them more tasty. These were pumpkins and other varieties of gourds, groundnuts, yams, tomatoes, shallots, and red peppers. Around the huts there were groves of bananas, which were widely used as food as well as in banana-beer.

The yearly calendar of agricultural activities was as follows.

Long rainy season

October. There were usually a few rainy days in September. In October the rains began and were not expected to be very abundant. Soil was prepared for the sowing period which began later in the month. Beans, peas, maize, pumpkins, eleusine, and groundnuts were sown or planted. Banana trees were pricked out.

November. Sowing went on. Because of the rains it was possible to plant sweet potatoes and cassava even on hill-tops. Bean fields were weeded.

December. New plots to be used later on were filled. At the end of the month harvesting began.

Short dry season

January. Peas and beans were harvested. Sorghum, maize, and eleusine were planted, and, in the valleys, potatoes and cassava. Beans were thrashed.

February. Late planting time for sorghum. Sweet potatoes and cassava were planted at the bottom of valleys. Eleusine fields were weeded.

Short rainy season

March. Beans were sown, and sweet potatoes and cassava planted on hill-tops. Sorghum was weeded. Second weeding of eleusine.

[19] See Czekanowski, 1917, pp. 136, 140.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

Fermented beverages were popular in Ruanda. There were three varieties: those with a sorghum base, those with a banana base, and hydromel. As these drinks were made in each household, their alcoholic content varied greatly. According to the experts, however, their nutritive value was generally considerable. The Tutsi did not drink sorghum-beer (*amarwa*) which they thought was fit only for children and Hutu. It is not as strong as banana-beer (*urwagwa*) and hydromel (*ubwuki*), which may contain 11.5° of alcohol.[23] Hydromel results from the fermentation of a must which is an aqueous solution of honey.

The Tutsi diet was based mainly on dairy products and was more liquid than solid. When still lying on his bed a Tutsi began his day with a pot of curdled milk (about 1½ pints). At noon, before his siesta, he again took about the same amount. Around six p.m. when talking with his friends and clients, he drank, and offered, hydromel or banana-beer. At about half past eight or nine p.m. everybody left his hut and he took his evening meal with his wife (or one of his wives), his young children of both sexes and his daughters even after puberty. A usual menu was sweet bananas (or beans) cooked in water, cut in small pieces which were eaten with hot salted butter, and some sort of 'bread' made with a sorghum flour paste and, of course, milk was drunk. On the rare occasions when they had meat it was boiled, cut in small pieces, and eaten with hot salted butter. After that, when the women had left, the evening was spent with friends and clients, in long, subtle, and witty conversations, while beer and hydromel were served again.

The Hutu ate more food, but it was less refined. They consumed much less milk and butter, if any. They took two main meals a day, one in the beginning of the afternoon and one in the evening. They made a kind of porridge with beans, peas, or maize. Sweet potatoes, regarded as too common to eat by the Tutsi, were consumed in large quantities by the Hutu. A present day evaluation is about seven pounds a day per adult. In the morning, while working in the fields, they ate one or two snacks made of the remains of the preceding evening meal. They drank mainly banana and sorghum beer.

The Twa apparently enjoyed eating much meat and drinking much beer when and where they could get it. Their diet was very

[23] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, pp. 52 f.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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CHAPTER VI

THE CLIENTAGE STRUCTURE

1. DESCRIPTION OF THE *BUHAKE* INSTITUTION

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THE *buhake* is an institution to which anthropologists who have studied Ruanda social structure have devoted a great part of their attention, if not the greatest. The name is not easily translated. *Buhake* comes from *guhakwa*, a verb meaning 'to pay one's respects to a superior in his court'.[1] It has been called cattle-lease (*bail à cheptel*),[2] recommendation (in the sense of the mediaeval latin *recommendatio*),[3] and contract of pastoral servitude.[4]

The *buhake* denoted the relation which existed between a person called *garagu* and another called *shebuja*. That relationship was created when an individual, Hutu or Tutsi, who had an inferior social prestige and who was less well provided with cattle, offered his services to and asked protection from a person whose status was higher and whose wealth was greater. The following sentences were usually, but not ritually said by the man offering his services, after he had given a jug of beer or hydromel to the other: *urampe amata* (I ask you milk), *urankize* (make me rich), *uramenye* (always think of me), *urambere umubyeyi* (be my father), *n'ange nzakubera umwana* (I shall be your child). [273]

If the offer was accepted, the man in the superior position bestowed on the other one or several cows. From that time on, they were in the institutionalized relation of *shebuja* (which I translate 'lord' or 'patron') and *garagu* ('client').

(*a*) *The client's rights*

The rights the client enjoyed over the cattle granted to him were those of usufruct: he had full rights of ownership over milk, the male increase of the cattle, and the meat and skin of a cow which had died or had had to be slaughtered. The female increase of the cattle remained at his disposal under the same conditions as the original cows given to him by the *shebuja*. Cows received

[1] Sandrart, 1930, p. 151.
[2] De Lacger, 1939, vol. I, p. 43.
[3] Vanhove, 1941, p. 48; Bourgeois, 1958.
[4] Kagame, 1952, p. 18.